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HARVARD ORIENTAL SERIES

Descriptive List thereof, revised to 1920:
with a brief Memorial of its Joint-founder

HENRY CLARKE WARREN

By C. R. Lanman
Joint-founder and General Editor

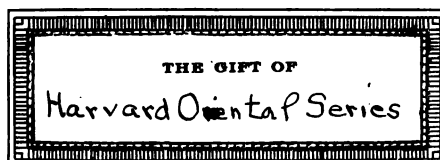
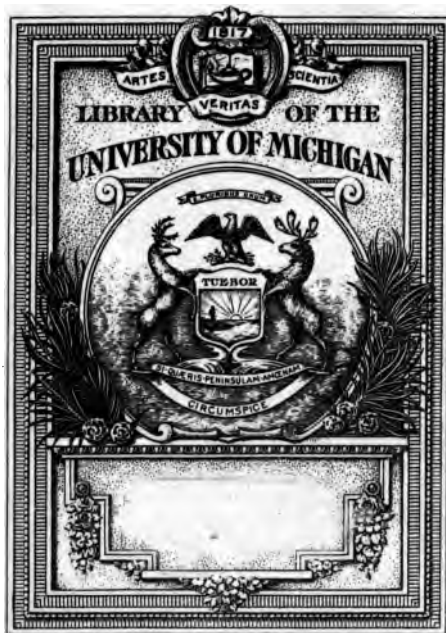
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BY

CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN 1800

Joint-founder and General Editor



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PREFATORY NOTE

THE HARVARD ORIENTAL SERIES was founded in 1891 by the joint efforts of Charles Rockwell Lanman and Henry Clarke Warren. It aims to make available for us people of the West the incomparable lessons which (if we be wise enough to maintain the teachable habit of mind) the Wise Men of the East can teach us, — lessons that concern the simple life, moderation of our desires, repose of spirit, and above all, the search after God and the realization of the divine immanence.

The best friends of Christianity now recognize that the study of other religions tends to broaden and strengthen the foundations of all religious thought and life. Works which promote this study stand first in the plans of this Series; and they are especially timely now, when so much of the widespread interest in Buddhism and other Oriental systems is misdirected by half-knowledge or by downright error concerning them.

Meantime, the study of the Orient has come to present itself in new aspects. The West and the Far East have become near neighbors, and from the responsibilities of such neighborhood there is no escape. Henceforth, across the Pacific, there will inevitably be an interchange of potent influences, of influences that will affect profoundly the politics, the literature, the art, the philosophy, the religion and morals, — in short, all the elements that make up the civilization of the two hemispheres. To direct these influences aright is the work of the scholar. For Orient and Occident, as members of the world-family, no obligation is more urgent than that of mutual understanding. To bring the best and noblest achievements of the East to bear upon our own life,

E. W. L.

and thus to make possible that understanding, — such is the inspiring task of the Orientalist, a task in vital relation with the practical needs of today.

The volumes of the Harvard Oriental Series are printed at the expense of funds given to Harvard University by Henry Clarke Warren (1854–1899), of Cambridge, Massachusetts. The third volume, Warren's *Buddhism*, is a noble monument to his courage in adversity and to his scholarship. The Series, as a contribution to the work of enabling the Occident to understand the Orient, is the fruit of an enlightened liberality which now seems to have been an almost prophetic anticipation on his part, of the task that today confronts us.

A Descriptive List of the Series, volumes 1–30, follows. It covers the thirty years, 1891–1920. To it are added descriptions of other works relating to India, already published by the Harvard University Press, or now (1920) in preparation.

At the end is a brief account of the life of Henry Clarke Warren.

C. R. L.

HARVARD ORIENTAL SERIES

Founded in 1891 by CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN and HENRY CLARKE WARREN.

Edited, with the coöperation of various scholars, by CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN, A.B. and LL.D. (Yale), LL.D. (Aberdeen), Professor of Sanskrit (since 1880: Wales Professor since 1903) at Harvard University (founded, 1636).

Member of the American Philosophical Society (founded, 1727); Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1780); President (for 1889-1890) of the American Philological Association (1869); President (for 1907-1908 and 1919-1920) of the American Oriental Society (1842).

Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1784); Honorary Member of the Société Asiatique (Paris, 1822); the Royal Asiatic Society (London, 1823), and the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (Leipzig, 1845).

Honorary Member of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Shanghai), the Finnish-Ugrian Society (Helsingfors), the India Society (London); Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India; Foreign Member of the Bohemian Society of Sciences (Prague, 1759); Member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts; Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Institute of Bologna (1712), of the Society of Sciences at Göttingen (1751), of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Petrograd, 1725), and of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1663) of the Institute of France.

Published by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S. of America.

The home office of the Press is at Randall Hall, Cambridge. The Agent of the Press in Great Britain is Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, London, E.C., England.

Direct application for books of this Series may be made, with remittance, to the Harvard University Press at Cambridge, Massachusetts. The volumes will then be sent by mail or parcel-post direct to the buyer.

The list-prices are subject to a trade-discount. No extra charge is made for postage. This list is here revised up to date of December, 1920. Prices of previous revisions are cancelled.

Descriptive List. A bound volume, containing a list of the volumes, and a brief memorial of Henry Clarke Warren, joint-founder, will be sent free upon application to the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. — The List tells the general nature and contents of each work of the Series, and the uses which that work is designed to serve. The List gives also extracts from critical notices of those works, taken from various periodicals of high standing. Appended is a partial list of libraries where the Series may be found.

Externals of the volumes. The books of this Series as a whole are printed on paper of a quality and tensile strength far above the average. They are all bound durably in full buckram. The edges are cut, but the margins are ample; and the tops are gilded, not for ornament, but to make cleaning easy. The backs are properly lettered. No work is issued until it is complete. Volume 10 is royal quarto (32 cm.); volumes 7 and 8 are super-royal octavo (28 cm.); the rest are royal octavo (26 cm.).

For sale or public inspection. A complete stock of the publications of the Harvard University Press is carried by the University Press Association, 19 East 47th Street, New York City, and by the Oxford University Press in London. Copies of this Series may be seen also in the Reading Room of the Harvard Library, Widener Hall, Cambridge, and at Randall Hall, Cambridge.

Some of the public libraries in which this Series may be found are given below, in a list on pages 13-15.

LIST OF THE HARVARD ORIENTAL SERIES

REVISED TO DECEMBER, 1920

Volume 1. Jātaka-Mālā. Stories of Buddha's former incarnations, by Ārya Ćūra. Edited in Sanskrit [Nāgarī letters] by Professor HENDRIK KERN, University of Leiden, Netherlands. 1891. Second issue, 1914. Pages, 270. Royal 8°. Price, \$3.

A masterpiece, as to language and style and metrical form, of Buddhist literature of the Northern Canon. By the Honorable (ārya) Ćūra. Stories used as homilies in old Buddhist monasteries. Editio princeps. Kern (1833-1917), long the honored Dean of the Dutch Orientalists, thought that Ćūra flourished not far from 600 A.D., or earlier. English translation by Speyer, London, 1895, Frowde.

Volume 2. Sāṅkhya-Pravachana-Bhāṣya, or Commentary on the Exposition of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. By Vijñāna-Bhikṣu. Edited in Sanskrit [Roman letters] by Professor RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. 1895. Pages, 210. Royal 8°. Price, \$3.

Sāṅkhya is dualistic. It recognizes souls and primeval matter, but not God. Vijñāna, however, is a pronounced theist. But in spite of his distortions of the original system, his Commentary (about 1550 A.D.) is the fullest source that we have for a knowledge of the Sāṅkhya system, and one of the most important (Garbe's Preface). Garbe studied the whole work with Bhāgavata Āchārya in Benares. German translation by Garbe, Leipzig, 1889, Brockhaus. Partial English version in J. R. Ballantyne's *The Sāṅkhya Aphorisms of Kapila*, London, 1885, Trübner.

Volume 3. Buddhism in Translations. Passages selected from the Buddhist sacred books, and translated from the original Pāli into English, by HENRY CLARKE WARREN, late of Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1896. Sixth issue, 1915. Pages, 540. Royal 8°. Price, \$1.20.

In accordance with the author's wish, the original price of this beautiful volume was set very low, at \$1.20. In spite of greatly changed conditions, that price has been maintained unaltered.

Buddhism portrayed in the words of the Buddhists themselves. The life of Buddha (a beautiful narrative), his teachings, and his monastic order form the substance of this work. The Pāli passages, done into vigorous English and accurately rendered, are chosen with such broad and learned circumspection that they make a systematically complete presentation of their difficult subject. Warren's material is drawn straight from the fountain-head. It is this fact that has given to his work an abiding importance and value. It has been highly praised by competent judges. Moreover, it has enjoyed a very wide circulation in America and Europe and the Orient. And nearly half of the work was included by President Eliot in *The Harvard Classics* (New York, P. F. Collier and Son), of which a quarter of a million sets and more have been sold. The usefulness of Warren's work has thus been incalculably enhanced.

The life of Henry Warren as a scholar is memorable in the annals of American learning. A brief memorial of his life and public services is appended to volume 30 of this Series, of which he was joint-founder. It is also issued with the Descriptive List of this Series (see above, page 1). The List may be had, free, upon application to the Harvard University Press.

Volume 4. Karpūra-Mañjarī. A drama by the Indian poet Rāja-ṣekhara (900 A.D.). Critically edited in the original Prākṛit [Nāgarī letters], with a glossarial index, and an essay on the life and writings of the poet, by STEN KONOW, Professor of Indic Philology at the University of Christiania, Norway, and Epigraphist to the Government of India.

— And translated into English with introduction and notes, by C. R. LANMAN. 1901. Pages, 318. Royal 8°. Price, \$3.

A play of court-intrigue, and the only extant drama written entirely in Prākṛit. It presents interesting parallels with the Braggart Soldier of Plautus.

Volumes 5 and 6. Brhad-Devatā (attributed to Cāunaka), a summary of the deities and myths of the Rig-Veda. Critically edited in the original Sanskrit [Nāgarī letters], with an introduction and seven appendices [volume 5], and translated into English with critical and illustrative notes [volume 6], by Professor ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL, University of Oxford. 1904. Pages, 234 + 350 = 584. Royal 8°. Not sold separately. Price, \$6.

The Great-Deity (-book), "hardly later than 400 B.C.," is one of the oldest books ancillary to the Rig-Veda. It includes very ancient epic material: so the story of Urvaṣī, the nymph that loved a mortal (whence Kālidāsa's great drama, *Urvaṣī*). The text is edited in a way that meets the most rigorous demands of exact philological criticism. The typographic presentation of text, version, and notes (critical and expository) is a model of convenience.

Volumes 7 and 8. Atharva-Veda. Translated, with a critical and exegetical commentary, by WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, late Professor of Sanskrit in Yale University, Editor-in-Chief of *The Century Dictionary*, an Encyclopedic Lexicon of the English Language. — Revised and brought nearer to completion and edited by C. R. LANMAN. 1905. Pages, 1212. Super-royal 8°. Not sold separately. Price, \$10.

The Atharva-Veda is, next after the Rig-Veda, the most important of the oldest texts of India. Whitney (1827–1894) was the most eminent American philologist of his century, and these monumental volumes form the crowning achievement of his life-long labors as an Indianist. For his translation, he expressly disclaims finality; but his austere self-restraint, resisting all allurements of fanciful interpretation, makes of his version, when taken with his critical and exegetical commentary, the sure point of departure for future study of this Veda and for its final comprehension.

The text-critical notes form the most important single item of the work. These give the various readings of the "authorities." The term "authorities" includes not only manuscripts (of Europe, India, Kashmir), but also living reciters (the Hindu equivalents, and in some respects the superiors, of manuscripts); and, in addition, the corresponding (and often variant) passages of the other Vedas. Whitney gives also the data of the scholiast as to authorship and divinity and meter of each stanza; extracts from the ancillary literature concerning ritual and exegesis; and a literal translation. Version and Comment proceed *pari passu*. Prefixed is an elaborate historical and critical introduction, and a sketch of Whitney's life, with a noble medallion portrait. A leaf of the birch-bark ms. from Kashmir is beautifully reproduced in color. The typography is strikingly clear.

Few texts of antiquity have been issued with appurtenant critical material of so large scope. And never before or since has the material for the critical study of an extensive Vedic text been so comprehensively and systematically gathered from so multifarious sources, and presented with masterly accuracy in so well-digested form.

Volume 9. The Little Clay Cart (Mṛc-chakaṭika). A Hindu drama attributed to King Shūdraka. Translated from the original Sanskrit and Prākṛits into English prose and verse by ARTHUR WILLIAM RYDER, Instructor in Sanskrit in Harvard University. 1905. Pages, 207. Royal 8°. Price, \$2.

A play of such variety, humor, and swift-moving action, that it has often been produced on the modern stage. Version, true and spirited. "The champagne has been

decanted, and has not lost its fizz." Noble typography (Merrymount Press). Most books of this Series are technical. This one, like Warren's *Buddhism*, may be happily chosen as a gift-book.

Volume 10. Vedic Concordance: being an alphabetic index to every line of every stanza of the published Vedic literature and to the liturgical formulas thereof, that is, an index [in Roman letters] to the Vedic mantras, together with an account of their variations in the different Vedic books. By Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. 1906. Pages, 1102. Royal 4°. Price, \$15.

The Vedas are, in general, the oldest extant records of the antiquity of India, and indeed of Indo-European antiquity. They are the sacred books of the oldest religion of the Hindus. They represent parts of a mass of traditional material, current in the various schools of Vedic learning, and handed down from teacher to pupil by word of mouth. What was originally one and the same stanza, appears in the texts of the various schools in more or less varying forms. The variations are often such as appear in the varying forms of popular ballads or of church hymns. Thus it happens that the texts of these different Vedic schools are often virtually related to each other and to their presumable original, as are the several kindred manuscripts of (let us say) a Greek play to each other and to the archetype from which they are descended. The comparison of these variant forms of a given text is often indispensable for ascertaining its original form and true meaning. This comparison is just what the Concordance enables us easily to effect. It is a tool of the very first importance for future editors and revisers and translators of Vedic texts.

The Concordance covers nearly all the important published texts, and is in one single alphabetic arrangement and one single volume. It is a royal quarto of over 1100 pages, of double columns, containing 125,000 lines or more. For the lines of the Rig-Veda alone, about 40,000 entries are required. The lines of the Atharva-Veda by themselves would require over 18,000 entries, but are often merged with those of their Rig-Veda correspondents. No less than 119 texts have been drawn upon for contributions to the work.

The book was printed (in the early years of the century) in a limited edition of 1000 copies, now half exhausted; and was printed, not from electrotypes, but from type. The expense in money alone, to say nothing of scholarly labor, was about seven thousand dollars. It is not likely that any publisher or scholar will soon undertake a new edition. For many decades, doubtless, the work will maintain its value unimpaired, an enduring monument to the industry and learning and resolute will of Professor Bloomfield.

Volume 11. The Pañcha-tantra: a collection of ancient Hindu tales, in the recension (called Pañchākhyānaka, and dated 1199 A.D.) of the Jaina monk, Pūrṇa-bhadra, critically edited in the original Sanskrit [in Nāgarī letters; and, for the sake of beginners, with word-division] by Dr. JOHANNES HERTEL, Professor am königlichen Realgymnasium, Doebeln, Saxony. 1908. Pages, 344. Royal 8°.

Volume 12. The Pañchatantra-text of Pūrṇabhadra: critical introduction and list of variants. By Professor HERTEL. 1912. Pages, 246. Royal 8°.

Volume 13. The Pañchatantra-text of Pūrṇabhadra, and its relation to texts of allied recensions, as shown in *Parallel Specimens*. By Professor HERTEL. 1912. Pages, 10; and 19 sheets, mounted on guards and issued in atlas-form. Royal 8°. Volumes 11-13 not sold separately. Price of all three together, \$4.

Volume 14. The Pañchatantra: a collection of ancient Hindu tales, in its oldest recension, the Kashmirian, entitled *Tantrākhyāyika*. The original Sanskrit text [in Nāgarī letters],

editio minor, reprinted from the critical editio major which was made for the Königlische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, by Professor HERTEL. 1915. Pages, 160. Royal 8°. Price, \$2.

For two thousand years and more, the tales of the Panchatantra have instructed and delighted the Hindus. The Panchatantra has exercised a greater influence than any other work of India upon the literature of the world. It was the Panchatantra that formed the basis of the studies of the immortal pioneer in the field of comparative literature, Theodor Benfey. His Panchatantra laid the foundation of the scientific treatment of the history of the fable. From the Panchatantra there came the lost Pahlavi translation, among whose effluxes are some of the most famous books of south-western Asia and of Europe, the Arabic Kalilah and Dimnah, the Directorium of John of Capua (1270), the Buch der Beispiele (1483) in German of great vigor and beauty, — and so on, down to that gem of racy Tudor English, Sir Thomas North's translation of Doni (1570), reprinted by Joseph Jacobs, London, 1888.

Hertel gives us here one recension of known authorship and date (1199), and another, the Kashmirian, many centuries older. To volume 11, Lanman adds an essay on The External of Indian Books. Of the Kashmirian recension, Hertel made a German version (Berlin, 1909, Teubner). The typography of both editions is clear and beautiful. The confusing embosments of the stories (a second in the first, a third in the second, and so on) are disentangled in a most ingenious and simple way.

Volume 15. Bhāravi's poem Kirātārjuniya, or Arjuna's combat with the Kirāta. Translated from the original Sanskrit into German, and explained, by CARL CAPPELLER, Professor at the University of Jena. 1912. Pages, 232. Royal 8°. Price, \$2.

The subject-matter is taken from the great epic of India, the Mahā-Bhārata. Like the Ajax of Sophocles as compared with the Ajax of Homer, this poem is an instructive example for the student of literary evolution or literary genetics. For centuries it has been acknowledged in India as one of the six Mahā-kāvyas or most distinguished specimens of artificial poetry, a masterpiece of its kind.

Volume 16. Çakuntalā, a Hindu drama by Kālidāsa: the Bengālī recension, critically edited in the original Sanskrit and Prākṛits by RICHARD FISCHER, late Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Berlin. Pages, about 250. Royal 8°.

As descendants of Bhārata, the Hindus are called Bhāratans. Their "continent" is called Bhārata-varsha, and their great epic is called the Great Bhāratana (Story or Fight), Mahā-Bhārata. Çakuntalā is the mother of Bhārata, and the beautiful story of her birth and life is told in the Great Epic. This play is a dramatization of that story, and is the masterpiece of the literature of India.

In 1898, Fischer wrote: "Es ist der sehnlichste Wunsch meines Lebens eine korrekte Ausgabe zu machen." His Prākṛit Grammar was off his hands in 1900. In 1902 he was called to the Berlin professorship. The six years of his tenancy were crowded with toil (finds from Chinese Turkestan, etc.). Then came the call to Calcutta, and, in 1908, his death at the threshold of India. Under many difficulties, the book (all but a couple of sheets) was printed at Stuttgart (Kohlhammer). Then came the world-conflagration. We hope to complete and issue the work.

Volume 17. The Yoga-system of Patañjali, or the ancient Hindu doctrine of concentration of mind. Embracing the Mnemonic Rules, called Yoga-sūtras, of Patañjali; and the Comment, called Yoga-bhāṣya, attributed to Veda-Vyāsa; and the Explanation, called Tattva-vaiçārādī, of Vāchaspati-Miçra. Translated from the original Sanskrit by JAMES HAUGHTON WOODS, Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University. 1914. Pages, 422. Royal 8°. Price \$4.

Three works in one pair of covers. The Rules are a set of mental pegs on which to hang the principles and precepts of a system which you must learn from the living teacher of your "school." The Comment is a reinvestiture of the skeleton of the Rules with the flesh and blood of comprehensible details. And the Explanation is of course a commentary on the Comment. The Comment is the oldest written systematic exposition of Yoga-doctrine in Sanskrit that we possess.

Of the Hindu philosophies, by far the most important are the ancient dualism called Sāṅkhya, the monism of the Vedānta, and the Yoga-system. Kāuṭilya, prime-minister of Chandragupta (300 B.C.), mentions Sāṅkhya and Yoga as current in his day. But the elements of Yoga, rigorous austerities and control of the senses, are indefinitely antique, and are one of the oldest and most striking products of the Hindu mind and character.

When one considers the floods of pseudo-scientific writing with which the propagandists of Indian "isms" in America have deluged us, one is the better prepared to appreciate the self-restraint of Dr. Woods in keeping all that pertains to miracle-mongering and sensationalism in the background, and in devoting himself to the exposition of the spiritual and intellectual aspects of Yoga. His work "continues the tradition of austere scholarship" which has, from the beginning, characterized the Harvard Oriental Series.

Volumes 18 and 19. The Veda of the Black Yajus School, entitled Tāittirīya Samhitā. Translated from the original Sanskrit prose and verse, with a running commentary. By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L. (Oxford), of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law, and of His Majesty's Colonial Office, sometime Acting Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford, Author of 'Responsible Government in the Dominions.' Volume 18, kāṇḍas I-III; volume 19, kāṇḍas IV-VII. 1914. Pages 464 + 374 = 838. Royal 8°. Price \$7. Not sold separately.

The Rig-Veda holds unquestioned primacy in the sacred literature of the Hindus; but their greatest mediæval scholiast on the Vedas, Sāyana, did not write his commentary on the Rig-Veda until after his commentary on the Yajur-Veda, because (as he expressly tells us) of the transcendent importance of the Yajur-Veda for the sacrifice. The Yajur-Veda is the Veda of sacrificial formulas. An accurate edition of the Tāittirīya-Samhitā was published in 1871-2 by Weber. It waited nigh fifty years for a translator.

For the difficult task of translation, no English or American Sanskritist was so well qualified by previous studies as Keith. To it he has brought his wide and varied learning, and with such effectiveness as to produce a work, which, in spite of its large extent, is notable for its well-rounded completeness. The entire text is translated. The commentary runs *pari passu* with the version, embodies the gist of Sāyana's scholia, and is presented with the utmost typographical perspicuity. An elaborate introduction is given, treating of the relation of this text to kindred texts, its contents, language, style, and date ('about 600 B.C.'), and the religious ritual of ancient India.

Volumes 20 and 24. Rig-Veda Repetitions. The repeated verses and distichs and stanzas of the Rig-Veda in systematic presentation and with critical discussion. By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. 1916. Pages, 508 + 206 = 714. Royal 8°. Not sold separately. Price, \$5.

Volume 20 contains Part 1: The repeated passages of the Rig-Veda, systematically presented in the order of the Rig-Veda, with critical comments and notes. Volume 24 contains Part 2: Comments and classifications from metrical and lexical and grammatical points of view, and from the point of view of the themes and divinities of the repeated passages. Also Part 3: Lists and indexes.

The aim of this work is to help us to understand the oldest religious document of Indo-European antiquity. The arrangement of Part 1 enables the student to bring under his eye at one time all the passages that he needs to compare, and to do so with utmost ease and speed. The material of this work was, from a typographical point of view, exceedingly intractable. The result as a whole is a marvel of clarity and convenience.

This work is the first of three natural sequels to Bloomfield's great Vedic Concordance: 1. The Rig-Veda Repetitions; 2. The Reverse Concordance; 3. The Vedic Variants. A draft of the second has been actually prepared by Bloomfield. And he and Edgerton have in hand the first draft of the third, a systematic presentation and critical discussion of the variant readings of the Vedic texts.

Volumes 21 and 22 and 23. *Rāma's Later History, or Uttara-Rāma-Charita*, an ancient Hindu drama by Bhavabhūti. Critically edited in the original Sanskrit and Prākṛit, with an introduction and English translation and notes and variants, etc. By SHRIPAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR, Graduate Student of Harvard University. (Now, 1920, Professor of Sanskrit at Deccan College, Poona, India.)

Dr. Belvalkar, when returning to India in 1914 from his studies at Harvard, shipped his manuscript-collations and other papers and his books by the German freighter, Fangturm. In August, 1914, the Fangturm was interned at the port of Palma, Balearic Islands. In 1919, she was released. In May, 1920, Dr. Belvalkar recovered his papers.

Volume 21 was issued in 1915, complete.

Of volume 22, the first 92 pages, containing the text of the whole play, have been in print since January, 1915, awaiting for nigh five and one-half years the recovery of the material for the rest of the book.

Of volume 23, the material included collation-sheets giving the readings of manuscripts from widely-separated parts of India, from Nepal to Madras, from Calcutta to Bombay. In spite of the generous assistance of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council, the work of getting the loan of these mss. was so great that it seemed best not to try to do it again, but to await the release of the Fangturm. — There is hope now that volumes 22 and 23 may be issued.

Volume 21. *Rāma's Later History. Part 1.* Introduction and translation. (Prefixed is a convenient synoptic analysis of the play. The introduction treats of Bhavabhūti's life and date and works, and includes a summary of the Rāma-story as given by the Rāmāyana. Lanman adds an essay entitled 'A method for citing Sanskrit dramas.' The method is very simple and practical.) 1915. Royal 8°. Pages 190. Price, \$2.

Volume 22. *Rāma's Later History. Part 2.* The text, with index, glossaries, etc. (This was printed at Bombay, with the exquisitely beautiful type, newly cast for this work, of Jāvaji's Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, and upon paper made expressly for this edition at the Wolvercote Mill of Oxford. Each Prākṛit speech is followed by the Sanskrit version in immediate sequence.) See above.

Volume 23. *Rāma's Later History. Part 3.* Explanatory and critical epilogue. (Critical account of the manuscripts. Running expository comment. The variant readings of the mss. The typographical 'make-up' of Comment and Variants into pages is such that they go *pari passu*. These epilogomena close with an essay on the two text-traditions of the play, a time-analysis, a note on the Hindu stage, etc.) See above.

Volume 24. *Rig-Veda Repetitions. Parts 2 and 3.* By Professor BLOOMFIELD. Described above, with volume 20.

Volume 25. Rig-Veda Brāhmaṇas: The Aitareya and Kauṣṭaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rig-Veda. Translated from the original Sanskrit. By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.Litt., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law, Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Edinburgh. 1920. Pages, 567. Royal 8°. Price \$5.

In August, 1915, this work was ready for printing. In August, 1916, it was delivered to the Controller of the Oxford University Press. In 1918, the Press had nigh 350 men at the war. Of the older men who were left, many were busy with urgent war-work, such as a Report on Trench-fever for the American Expeditionary Force. And when, after the armistice, the printing was resumed, the author was engrossed in the work of Lord Crewe's Committee on the Home Administration of Indian Affairs.

The Vedic literature falls into three clearly sundered groups: the Vedic hymns or Mantras; the Brāhmaṇas, 'the priestlies' or 'priestly (discourses)'; and the Sūtras. Keith thinks that the Aitareya is not later than 600 B.C. The plan of the work is like that of volumes 18-19: elaborate introduction; translation; running comment on the same page. The skill of the priestly story-tellers is at its best in the splendid legend of Ānahaṇḍa (threatened sacrifice of son by father: cf. Isaac, Iphigeneia, Phrixos). Despite the pseudo-profundity and puerility of the Brāhmaṇas, they are of genuine significance to the student of Hindu antiquity, social and religious. And they are in fact the oldest Indo-European prose extant.

Volumes 26 and 27. Vikrama's Adventures, or The Thirty-two Tales of the Throne. A collection of stories about King Vikrama, as told by the Thirty-two Statuettes that supported his throne. Edited in four different recensions of the Sanskrit original (Vikrama-charita or Sinhāsana-dvātriṅcakā) and translated into English with an introduction, by FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Pennsylvania. Nearly ready.

Vikrama's Adventures is one of the most famous story-books of mediæval India. Vikrama is one of the most noted quasi-historical heroes of his times. His magic throne, hidden upon his death, is discovered by a later king, Bhoja. Each of the thirty-two (dvā-triṅcat) statuettes that support his throne (sinhāsana) tells one story to Bhoja. Hence the alternative title. The theme of the tales is Vikrama, who is meant to serve as a kind of Hindu King Arthur, an example for real kings.

Edgerton hopes that his work may prove suggestive as a model for students of comparative literature. The text of each of the four recensions (Southern, Metrical, "Brief," Jainistic) is printed in horizontally parallel sections, so that each page contains those parts which correspond to each other in substance. And the translation is treated in like manner. Comparisons are thus facilitated to a degree never before attained in a work of this kind.

From all this, Edgerton reconstructs, with some detail, and with reasonable certainty, the original work from which the current versions are derived. This he presents in the form of a Composite Outline, the concrete solution of a problem in literary genetics.

Volumes 28 and 29 and 30. Buddhist Legends. Translated from the original Pāli text of the Dhammapada Commentary, by EUGENE WATSON BURLINGAME, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, sometime Harrison Fellow for Research at the University of Pennsylvania and Johnston Scholar in Sanskrit at the Johns Hopkins University and Lecturer on Pāli in Yale University. 1921. Pages, 366 + 370 + 378 = 1114. Royal 8°. Not sold separately. Price \$15.

Dhāmma-pada, or Way of Righteousness, is the name of one of the canonical books of the Buddhist Sacred Scriptures. It consists of 423 stanzas. These are reputed to be

the very words of the Buddha himself. The Dhammapada Commentary, composed by an unknown author in Ceylon about 450 A.D., purports to tell the circumstances under which Buddha uttered each one of these stanzas. In telling them, it narrates 299 stories or legends. These stories are the preponderating element of the Commentary, and it is these which are here translated.

In style and substance the tales resemble those of the famous Jātaka Book, the Buddhist Acta Sanctorum, a counterpart of the Legends of the Christian Saints. And they present many parallels to well-known stories of mediæval literature, Oriental and European. For the comparative study of such parallels, Dr. Burlingame's Synopses, clear and brief, will prove a very great convenience. His vigorous diction suggests familiarity with such "wells of English undefyled" as the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. The work gives a vivid picture of the every-day life of the ancient Buddhists — monks, nuns, lay disciples. It is thus, incidentally, an admirable preparative for the study of the more difficult Buddhist books in the original. As especially attractive stories may be cited: Lean Gotamī seeks mustard-seed to cure her dead child; Murder of Great Moggallāna; Buddha falsely accused by Chinchā; Visākhā; the Hell-pot. A critical and historical introduction is prefixed. At the end is an *intelligent* index, modeled after that of George Foot Moore's *History of Religions*.

In September, 1909, Mr. Burlingame came to Harvard University to pursue his studies with Mr. Lanman. It was at the suggestion of the latter that Mr. Burlingame undertook the task of translating into English the Dhammapada Commentary. He first made a table of contents of the work, giving the title of each story and the place of its occurrence in the Burmese text and also in the Cingalese text. He added an index to the titles, and an extremely good analysis of Books 1 to 4. This most useful preliminary work was formally presented to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on December 8, 1909, by Mr. Lanman. The manuscript of the article was delivered February 5, 1910, and published soon after as pages 467–550 of volume 45 of the Proceedings of the Academy. The admirably elaborated manuscript of the entire translation of the Dhammapada Commentary was delivered by its author on January 10, 1917, just before the War.

THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

publishes other works relating to India, as follows:

Sanskrit Reader: Text and Vocabulary and Notes. By CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN, Wales Professor of Sanskrit at Harvard University. Seventh issue, 1920. Royal 8°. Pages, 430. Price, \$3.

The Reader furnishes the text for 60 or 80 lessons, and with it, the needed lexicon and notes. The notes make constant reference to Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar: see below. These two volumes supply all that is strictly indispensable for the beginner. The text is in the Oriental (Nāgarī) letters; but a transliteration of the first four pages in Roman letters is added. The Reader is designed especially to meet the needs of those who have not the aid of a teacher.

The text is chosen: 1. from Classical Sanskrit works (Nala-story, fables of Hitopadeśa, "Manu's Laws"); and 2. from the Vedic literature (Rig-Veda hymns, Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras for wedding and burial). A literary-historical introduction is given for each kind of text. The vocabulary is in Roman letters, and is elaborated with the utmost care. Special heed is given to the development of the meanings (semantics: pāda, foot, leg, leg of lamb, quarter, quarter of a four-lined stanza, line, line of a three-lined stanza), and also to the etymological cognates in English, Greek, and so on (ta-d, τῶ, ὄσ-ε-t, tha-t, is-tu-d).

Parts of Nala and Hitopadesha in English letters. Prepared by C. R. LANMAN. 1889. Royal 8°. Pages, 50. Price, 50 cents.

A reprint of the first 44 pages of the Reader (see above), transliterated from the Oriental characters into English letters. It corresponds page for page and line for line with its original, so that the references of the Vocabulary and Notes of the Reader apply exactly to this reprint. With the Grammar and Reader and this reprint, the student is enabled to acquire a knowledge of the structure of the Sanskrit and to do some reading, without first learning the Oriental letters.

Sanskrit Grammar: including both the Classical language, and the older dialects of Veda and Brāhmaṇa. By WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, late Professor of Sanskrit at Yale University. Fourth issue of second edition, 1921. 8°. Pages, 578. Price, \$4.50.

The greatest extant repository of the grammatical facts concerning the Sanskrit language. A masterpiece of orderly arrangement. Prefixed is a brief account of the literature of India.

Vedānta Philosophy. Outline of the Vedānta system of philosophy according to Shankara. By PAUL DEUSSEN. Translated by JAMES H. WOODS, Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University, and CATHARINE B. RUNKLE of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Second edition. 1915. 8°. Pages, 56. Price, 50 cents.

This book, a translation of the summary given by Deussen at the end of his monumental work, *Das System des Vedānta*, was first published in 1906. Since then, thanks to the learning and enthusiasm of Charles Johnston, the whole great work has been made accessible in an English version (Chicago, 1912, The Open Court Publishing Company). Nevertheless, the small book was so inexpensive and practical, that a new edition was made in 1915. The summary, although brief and compact, is yet so lucid and adequate, — in short, so altogether admirable, that it is not likely soon to be superseded by a better exposition of what has been to untold millions at once a philosophy and a religion.

IN PREPARATION

Sanskrit Grammar. The essentials, in briefest form and for beginners, as to sounds and sound-changes and inflection. With an appendix of linguistic Comment, entirely separate from the Grammar, and drawn from English and Greek and Latin. By C. R. LANMAN. 1921. Royal 8°. Pages, about 50 + 50. Price, \$1.

Of all the Indo-European languages, Sanskrit is incomparably well adapted as an elementary study for the purposes of mental discipline in general and of rigorous linguistic training in particular. The transparency of its structure is absolutely unique. The various elements — prefix, root, derivative suffix, inflectional ending — which in synthesis constitute the word, are easily made the subject of quick and certain analysis by the veriest beginner. Thus Sanskrit serves best to reveal the fundamental principles which underlie the structure of English, Greek, Latin, etc. For these have suffered linguistic erosion to such a degree that their original structural features are often no longer recognizable. The habit and power of alert observation and of linguistic reflection (such, for example, as shows you without reference to any book, the connection of *batch* with *bake*, of *fil-th* with *foul*, of *gris-t* with *gri-d*) are best won by the study of some foreign language. One single year of Sanskrit may, with proper books, be made so fruitful, that any intending Anglicist or Hellenist or Latinist may well hesitate to forego the unmatched opportunity which it offers for winning a habit and a power that shall enable him to tackle his English or his Greek or his Latin more vigorously and effectively.

For this purpose, the mastery of Oriental alphabets is of no use whatever. The inflections and sound-changes of Sanskrit are far less difficult than is commonly supposed, and are positively easy if you separate the difficulties of the language from those of the writing. Therefore this grammar prints all Sanskrit words in Roman letters. The use of Roman letters makes clear to the eye, instantly and without a word of comment, countless facts as to the structure and analysis of the forms. And by combining ingenious typographic arrangement with the use of Roman letters, it is possible to accomplish wonders for the visualizing memory.

The explanatory or illustrative matter, drawn from English, Greek, and Latin, will be found helpful and often entertaining. Thus palatalization (important in Sanskrit: *k* becomes *ch*, *g* becomes *j*) is illustrated by *drink drench*, *hang hinge*, and so on. The section-numbers of the Comment correspond throughout with those of the Grammar, so that reference from the one to the other is 'automatic.'

Bhāratan Readings. Easy and interesting stories from the Mahā-Bhārata in the original Sanskrit. Printed in Roman letters, with a literal English version. By C. R. LANMAN.

These show to the beginner how exceedingly easy the easy epic texts are. They are chosen with common sense and good taste, and are purged of long-winded descriptive passages. They are in simple unstilted language, entertaining, full of swift-moving action and incident. Among them are the story of Çakuntalā (heroine of the masterpiece of the Hindu drama, and mother of Bhārata: see above, page 5), the Flood, the great Gambling-scene, the Night-scene on the Ganges (in which the fallen heroes come forth from the river and talk with the living), Vipulā (who restrains Ruchi from a lapse of virtue by hypnotizing her), the Man in the Pit (prototype of the famous mediæval allegory), Nalā and Damayanti (cut down from a thousand stanzas to a few hundred), and so on. To make easier and quicker the understanding of the text, each stanza is printed as four lines (not two), and the literal version is given in a parallel column.

The Indic Alphabet called Nāgarī, in which Sanskrit is commonly printed. A brief manual for beginners. By C. R. LANMAN.

This is not to be taken up until the student has acquired a considerable vocabulary of common Sanskrit words, and such familiarity with the inflectional endings and prepositional prefixes and with the rules of sound-combination, as shall enable him quickly to separate the words, which, in the writing of India, are confusingly run together. By printing the little book at Bombay, with the rich and admirable type-fonts of the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, it will be easy to make many things clear which are now stones of stumbling.

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The *Atharva-Veda* is of large interest and importance for the history of the crude beginnings of Medical Science and the Art of Healing. See the Address, "Yale in its relation to Medicine," delivered by Professor William Henry Welch, of the Johns Hopkins University, in "The Record of the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Yale College," New Haven, 1902, pages 203-204. Mainly at the suggestion of Doctor Welch, copies of Whitney's *Atharva-Veda* (volumes 7 and 8 of the above-given List) were accordingly sent to the following Medical Libraries:

District of Columbia, Washington: Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, U. S. Department of War.

Illinois, Chicago: The John Crerar Library.

- Maryland, Baltimore: Library of the Medical School of the Johns Hopkins U.
—— Library of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland.
Massachusetts, Boston: The Boston Library Society's Library, 114 Newbury St.
—— Boston Medical Library, 8, The Fenway.
—— Library of the Harvard Medical School, Longwood Avenue.
New York, Brooklyn: Library of the Medical Society of the County of Kings, 1313 Bedford Avenue.
—— New York: Library of the New York Academy of Medicine, 21 West 43rd St.
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia: Library of the College of Physicians, Locust St. and 13th St.
Great Britain, London: Library of the Royal College of Surgeons of London.
—— Library of the Royal Society of Medicine, 20 Hanover Square, W.

HENRY CLARKE WARREN
(1854-1899)
OF CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.

A Brief Memorial
BY C. R. LANMAN

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A Brief Memorial

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The issue of the thirtieth volume of the Harvard Oriental Series is a fitting occasion for a short account of the life and character of Henry Warren, one of the two joint-founders of the Series; and the pages which follow the end of this volume proper, are a fit place in which to print the account by way of permanent record.

Henry Warren is worthy to be remembered, other reasons apart, for two things. He was the first American scholar (even now, after thirty years, unsurpassed) to attain distinction for his mastery of the sacred scriptures of Buddhism, a distinction now become world-wide. And again, with ample wealth he combined the learning and insight and faith to forecast the potential usefulness of such an undertaking as this Series, and did in fact give to Harvard University the funds for its publication. What these two things signify, — this may be told in the sequel.

Henry Clarke Warren was born in Boston, Massachusetts, November 18, 1854, and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Tuesday, January 3, 1899. His family was of English stock that came to New England between 1630 and 1640. His father was Samuel Dennis Warren (1817–1888), and his mother's maiden name was Susan Cornelia Clarke. In his early childhood, a fall from a chaise produced an injury of utmost gravity. It resulted in a spinal ailment and in life-long physical disability and suffering. This was all the more a loss to the world, because his intellectual endowments were of a very high order, and governed by a moral character which — by due inheritance

from his father and mother¹— was uncommonly elevated and unselfish and strong. Shut out by his crippled body from many of the joys of boyhood and young manhood, he bravely set himself to make the most of what remained to him.

Henry Warren received careful private instruction and the advantages of travel (journeys to Europe and Egypt); and his native broadness of mind soon showed itself in a catholicity of interest very unusual for one of his years. In Harvard College he won the affectionate regard of his teacher, Professor George Herbert Palmer, by his keen interest in the history of philosophy. He became an intelligent student of Plato and Kant, and the natural trend of his mind towards speculative questions showed clearly in his later scientific investigations of Buddhism. With all this went an eager curiosity about the visible world around him. We can easily believe that he would have attained to distinction in natural science, so good were his gifts of observation and well-balanced reflection upon what he saw. He used his microscope with great satisfaction in botanical study. At Baltimore he worked with enthusiasm in the chemical

¹ Samuel Dennis Warren was born in Grafton, Massachusetts, September 13, 1817, and died in Boston, Massachusetts, May 11, 1888. His grandfather, Joseph Warren, took part in the war of the American Revolution, marching from Grafton to Lexington, April 19, 1775. Joseph's great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather, both named John Warren, crossed over from England in 1630 with Governor Winthrop on the ship *Arbella*. The Warrens came from Nayland, in the county of Suffolk, England.

In 1854, Samuel Dennis Warren bought the paper-mills in Westbrook, Maine, now known as the Cumberland Mills. He became one of the most eminent and useful and successful business men of his day, honored for his ability and sterling integrity, and beloved for his goodness. His wife was the daughter of Reverend Dorus Clarke of Westhampton, Massachusetts. She was born March 3, 1825, at Blandford, Massachusetts, and died September 1, 1901, at Waltham, Massachusetts.

Henry Warren left three brothers, Samuel Dennis Warren, Jr., Edward Perry Warren, and Fiske Warren, and a sister, Cornelia Warren. The brothers were graduates of Harvard College, in the classes (respectively) of 1875, 1883, and 1884, and the Harvard Class-reports contain accounts of the lives of all four brothers.

The genealogy of the Warren family, with historical notes, is given in the volume entitled "The Warren-Clarke genealogy. By Rev. Charles White Huntington. Privately printed, Cambridge, 1894." Miss Warren has written a volume entitled "A Memorial of my Mother, by Cornelia Warren. Boston, privately printed, 1908." It contains much also about her father and her brother Henry. Here also should be mentioned the volume entitled "Samuel Dennis Warren, September 13, 1817–May 11, 1888. A Tribute from the people of Cumberland Mills. Cambridge, printed at the Riverside Press, 1888." The first and third of these three last-named volumes, and of course also all the Harvard Class-reports, may be consulted at the Harvard Library.

laboratory. And through all his later years, an aquarium was a thing which he maintained with intelligent and persistent interest. But for the most part he was forced, reluctantly, we may guess, to see with the eyes of others; and accordingly his reading in the natural sciences—in those just mentioned, in physiology and kindred subjects ancillary to medicine, and in geography—was wide, and was for him a well-chosen foil to the severer Oriental studies which became his unprofessed profession. As a further resource for diversion in hours of weariness or solitude, he took to books of travel and of fiction; and by way of zest, acceptable to so active a mind, he read them, one in German, another in Dutch, and another in French or Spanish or Russian.

The field of science, however, in which he made a name for himself is Oriental philosophy, and in particular, Buddhism, conceived, not as a simple body of ethical teaching, but as an elaborate system of doctrine. He had begun the study of Sanskrit, as an undergraduate at Harvard, with Professor Greenough; and, after taking his bachelor's degree in 1879, had continued the study at the newly established Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, first under Professor Lanman, and then, after Lanman had been called (in 1880) to Harvard, with Lanman's pupil and successor, Professor Bloomfield. In 1884 Warren returned to the home of his father in Boston. In May, 1884, he went to England for a stay of a few weeks, partly to visit his brother Edward at Oxford, and partly to meet the Pāli scholar whose influence on the course of his future studies proved to be so large, Professor Rhys Davids. On the death of his father in 1888, he made trial of the climate of Southern California, but soon came home. In September, 1891, he established his residence at Cambridge, in a beautiful place on Quincy Street, opposite Harvard College Yard and near the Library, in what had been the dwelling of Professor Beck; and there he lived for the rest of his days.

Warren was elected a member of the American Oriental Society in 1882; and ten years later he was chosen Treasurer, relieving Lanman, who was then serving as Corresponding Secretary and as Treasurer. This office he held till his death, doing its duties with scrupulous care until the end.¹ Thus, either as productive worker or as a Director or as both, he was for almost two decades an interested and active

¹ Elected a corporate member at Boston — see *Journal*, vol. 11, page cvi. Chosen Treasurer at Washington, *Journal*, 15, page cxliv. His seven Annual Reports as Treasurer (April, 1892–December, 1898) appear in the *Journal*, volumes 16–20.

member, one of the kind that really promote the fundamental objects of such an organization. He was glad to be made a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.¹ His name is on the first list of members of the Pāli Text Society of London, among the "Subscribers for six years;" and later it appears (for such was the usage of the *Report*) among those of the "Donors" as one of the most generous givers.² Even this slight publicity was doubtless unwelcome; for, constant as were his gifts to causes that proved themselves worthy, he was more than unostentatious. For the most valuable single object in the Harvard Semitic Museum, a perfectly preserved Assyrian tablet, half of the purchase-money came as a wholly unsolicited gift from Warren.

As a citizen, whether of the municipality or of the Commonwealth, he was ever ready to do his share in works of enlightened organized charity, or to help, for example, in the preservation of our forests or in the reform of the civil service. His public-spirited action was as modest as it was zealous. The maxim of the misprized Epicurus he had taken to heart, "Well hid is well lived," λάθε βιώσας.

Warren's bodily afflictions tended to make him of shy and retiring habit. But the few who knew him well, knew him as a man of strength and tenderness. His ever-present troubles he never obtruded on others, but — by resolute will, I think — he studiously made light of them. In this he was helped by his native sense of humor. While working in the chemical laboratory at Baltimore, he burned his left hand severely with nitric acid, but he made fun of the unsightly scar, conspicuous on the back of his hand, calling it "nitrate-of-Warren." This sense of humor never forsook him, even to the end. Shortly before his death, a friend sent him some brandied peaches. "I can't eat your peaches," said he, "but I appreciate the *spirit* in which they are sent." He had been accustomed, while at work, to stand up at a high desk, with two crutches under his arms to take the weight off his spinal column. Towards the end, even this was too hard, and he worked resting the weight of his trunk on his elbows while kneeling at a chair, so that the knees of his trousers showed hard usage. Perhaps in retort to some mild chaffing from me, — he made answer, "Ah, but when Saint Peter sees those knees, he'll say, 'Pass right in, sir, pass right in.'"

¹ His election is recorded in the *Journal* of the R. A. S. for 1885, Annual Report, page ii.

² See *Journal* of the P. T. S. for 1882, page 16, and for 1896, page 117.

During his last years, finding scant comfort in a bed, he had constructed in his house a little room like a box, closed in front with a flexible wooden curtain (like that of a "roll-top desk"), properly ventilated, and with the heat regulated by a thermostat. And on the floor of this he slept. In general it may be said that, although, for instance, in matters of food and drink, ample luxury was at his command, he lived a life of simplicity and self-control. In the increasingly difficult matter of securing adequate physical exercise, he showed strength of will. His regimen is the more notable, because — as I think — it was dictated by the all-informing motive of struggling to make the most of his life for public service as a scholar. What that struggle meant, is well brought out by President Eliot. Five or six days before Mr. Warren died, he asked Mr. Eliot to come over to his house. In writing of that visit, Mr. Eliot says: "I was much impressed by his calmness, patience, and perseverance in intellectual labor under the most trying conditions. There was an heroic serenity about him, and an indomitable resolution very striking to me, who have worked hard, but only under the most favorable conditions of health and strength."

During the last weeks of suffering, Mr. Warren preferred not to have a trained nurse at hand, although there were in the house those upon whom he could call in case of need. I think he must have seen that death was imminent; but, realizing that nothing which his nearest of kindred and friends could do would avail, he chose to face the end with dignity, serene, untroubled, and without troubling others. Thus in his last hours no one was by, and so it chanced that an inmate of the house, going to one of his rooms at a little after midnight of the night of Monday–Tuesday, January 2–3, 1899, found him in a sitting posture in a corner of the room. Apparently, in trying to walk to or from the room, his weary body sank beneath him. And almost to the very end, he had toiled to make clear to the Occident the treatise of the illustrious Buddhaghosa, *The Way of Salvation*. In Pauline phrase, he had fought a good fight, he had finished his course, he had kept the faith.

His visit to London in 1884, — in particular, the delightfully contagious enthusiasm of Professor Rhys Davids, — seems to have confirmed Mr. Warren in his purpose to devote himself to the sacred books of Southern Buddhism, and to their language, the Pāli. The Jātaka-book had not failed of its charm for Mr. Warren. Fausböll's

edition had then progressed as far as the third volume; and with a version of the first story of that volume, the "Little Kālinga Birth-story," Mr. Warren made his début in print. This translation, presumably the first ever made in America from the Pāli, appeared October 27, 1884, and, for an interesting reason, in the *Providence Journal*. The Library of Brown University, at Providence, contained what was at that time doubtless the only large portion of the Buddhist scriptures in America, some twenty odd palm-leaf manuscripts given to it by Rev. J. N. Cushing, long a Baptist missionary in Rangoon. An English specimen of these strange books might therefore be presumed to interest the University town.

There followed, a few months later, a paper "On superstitious customs connected with sneezing," published in the *Journal* of the American Oriental Society (volume 13, May, 1885), a striking evidence, not only of the riches of the Jātaka-tales in curious folk-lore, but also of Warren's enthusiasm, now thoroughly awakened.

His study of the Pāli literature was now prosecuted with zeal and persistence, and his knowledge of the texts, the unedited as well as the edited, grew constantly wider and deeper. His first objective was naturally the edited texts. These, when he began his Pāli studies, were few indeed. The Danish scholar, Fausböll, had published the *Dhammapada*, with copious extracts from the Commentary (1855), and (from 1858 on) many of the Jātakas, and in 1877 had begun his monumental edition of the Jātaka-book. In 1880, his countryman, Trenckner, gave us the *Milinda*, a model of editorial workmanship. And between 1879 and 1883 appeared Oldenberg's *Vinaya*. With the establishment of the Pāli Text Society in 1881 by Rhys Davids, the centre of Pāli studies shifted from Copenhagen to London, and — thanks to Davids's energy and vigor — the printed texts multiplied rapidly. The first volume of the *Samyutta* appeared in 1884, and that of the *Anguttara* in 1885. The first half of the important *Majjhima*, from Trenckner's masterhand, came out in 1888, and was followed in 1890 by Davids's edition of the first third of the no less important *Dīgha*. Such are the edited texts, selections¹ from which form the bulk (say four fifths) of Warren's *Buddhism*:

As for the unedited texts, — one good fifth of Warren's *Buddhism* (say one hundred pages and more) consists of translations of some

¹ A list of the original sources of these selections and of those from the *Visuddhimagga* is given, with an index, by Miss C. B. Runkle, in the *Journal* of the Pāli Text Society for 1902-1903.

fifty passages selected from Buddhaghosa's great treatise on Buddhism, entitled *The Way of Salvation* or Visuddhi-magga. These versions constitute, as will appear, a remarkable achievement. Warren's catalogue of the "Pāli manuscripts in the Brown University Library," published in the *Journal* of the Pāli Text Society for 1885, proves that he had already acquired the power of reading these palm-leaf books — no easy acquisition, when one considers the crabbed characters, the lack of contrast of color (black on brown, not black on white), and the maddening absence of adequate paragraphing and spacing and punctuation.¹ Repeated evidence of his labors with the refractory material of the palm-leaf books was given by Warren in the years when he was not only writing his *Buddhism*, but also editing the Visuddhi-magga. His paper entitled "Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-magga" is a general and most illuminating account of that work, and was published in the *Transactions* of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, held in London, 1892, and may be used as an introduction to his very important essay entitled "Table of contents of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-magga," published in the *Journal* of the Pāli Text Society for 1891–1893. Further evidence is given by his two papers in volume 16 of the *Journal* of the American Oriental Society: of these, one "On the so-called Chain of Causation of the Buddhists" (April, 1893) discusses the famous formula in which Buddha endeavors to account for the origin of evil; and the other, "Report of progress of work upon Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-magga" (March, 1894), gives a brief but highly interesting account of Warren's work as a pioneer in this very difficult field.

But these minor papers were only chips from the two keels which he had laid for craft of large dimension and ambitious design. He realized how scant at most were the time and strength presumably at his disposal, and wisely judged it best to devote that little, not to the learned odds and ends on which many scholars fritter their days away, but rather to two extensive works, each likely to be of long-lived use-

¹ Speaking of these difficulties, Warren says: "The Visuddhi-magga is only to be had in native manuscript. It seems almost impossible to understand a Pāli work written on palm-leaves until it has first been transcribed. The natives do not divide the words, and they make use of almost no devices to help the eye, so that it becomes a question of spelling one's way along letter by letter, and it is hardly possible to read currently. Accordingly, I was obliged to copy [the text of the palm-leaves]." (*Journal Am. Oriental Soc.*, vol. 16, page lxvi.) See also Lanman's "Notes on the externals of Indian books," Harvard Oriental Series, volume 11, pages xix to xlviii.

fulness and of enduring significance in the history of Oriental studies. The larger of the two works was his edition and translation of Buddhaghosa's treatise on Buddhism entitled *The Way of Salvation* or *Visuddhi-magga*. This could hardly have been issued in less than four volumes, two for the text and two for the translation. The other was his *Buddhism in Translations*, one single large volume. This appeared several years before his death. The larger work he did not live to finish.

First then, as to Warren's unfinished enterprise, Buddhaghosa's *Way of Salvation* or *Visuddhi-magga*, — it is fitting here to say a word about Buddhaghosa and his work and about Warren's plan and his progress towards its achievement.

Buddhaghosa flourished about 400 A.D. He was brought up in India in all the learning of the Brahmans, was converted to Buddhism, went to Ceylon, and became an exceedingly prolific writer. He is the author of a commentary on each of the four great *Collections* or *Ni-kāyas*, in which are recorded the very teachings of Buddha. But his greatest work is the *Visuddhi-magga*, an encyclopædia *raisonnée* of Buddhist doctrine. Of all names in the history of Buddhist scholasticism, that of Buddhaghosa is the most illustrious. Indeed, there is a certain fitness in comparing him with the most illustrious of the Latin fathers, and in calling him the Saint Augustine of India. Both were converts, the one to Buddhism, the other to Christianity; both were men of majestic intellect and wide learning; both were prolific writers; both were authors of works which have for fifteen centuries maintained for themselves, each in its sphere, a place of surpassing influence. And it is highly probable that Buddhaghosa, at Great Minster in Ceylon, was composing the *Visuddhi-magga* at very nearly (if not precisely) the same time at which Saint Augustine was writing *The City of God* (begun about 413, finished 428).

Warren's plan was to publish in English letters a scholarly edition of the original Pāli text of the *Visuddhi-magga*, with full but well-sifted critical apparatus, a complete English translation, an index of names, and other useful appendices. Buddhaghosa makes constant citations from the Sacred Texts, quite after the manner of the fathers of the Christian church. In order to enhance the usefulness of his edition, Warren had undertaken to trace back all these quotations to their sources. Of the text, he had already made two type-written copies, and a large part or all of a third copy which he hoped might be final. Of the English version, he had made one third, considerable

portions having appeared in his *Buddhism*. And about one half of the quotations had been identified in the vast literature from which Buddhaghosa drew.

As for Warren's other enterprise, the finished one, — the plan of his *Buddhism in Translations* is, as its title implies, to present to Western readers Buddhist doctrines and institutions and the legend of Buddha in the words of the Buddhists themselves. The book appeared May 6, 1896, and is a royal octavo of 540 pages, made up of about 140 passages from the Pāli scriptures. These selections, done into vigorous English and accurately rendered, are chosen with such broad and learned circumspection that they make a systematically complete presentation of their difficult subject. The work is divided into five chapters. Of these, the first gives the picturesque Buddha-legend, and the fifth treats of the monastic order; while the other three are concerned with the fundamental conceptions of Buddhism, to wit, "sentient existence, Karma and rebirth, and meditation and Nirvana." Warren's interest centred in the philosophical chapters; the first and last were for him rather a concession to popular interest, an addition intended to "float" the rest. Much has recently been written about Buddhism upon the basis of secondary or even less immediate sources. Warren's material is drawn straight from the fountain-head. It is this fact that gives his book an abiding importance and value.

The work, as a volume of the Series, has been issued six times. The third issue was one made for sale at a very low price in India and Ceylon, and a call for another such issue has recently come from India. Extracts from the book have often been made in other works; and at varying intervals, from authors or publishers, requests come to Harvard University (as owner of the copyright) for permission to reprint considerable parts. Thus the work has enjoyed in America and Europe and the Orient a wide circulation, and has been one of large usefulness. It is significant that so subtle an interpreter of the influence of India on Japan as Lafcadio Hearn¹ calls Warren's book "the most interesting and valuable single volume of its kind that I have ever seen."

A large part (over two hundred pages, or nearly one half) of Warren's *Buddhism* was included by President Eliot in *The Harvard*

¹ In his book, *In Ghostly Japan* (Boston, 1899), page 70.

Classics.¹ The teachings of Jesus and Buddha have probably swayed more lives than those of any other great teacher in human history. It is to the credit of Warren's discernment that he saw the importance of interpreting to the Occident the teachings of Buddha, and chose this task as his life-work. It is further to the credit of his sound common sense and his literary skill that he should be the first to present such intractable exotic material in a way so interesting and illuminating to us moderns of the West. And although the subject-matter of Warren's work is translation and (barring his introductions) not original, it is a remarkable implicit comment upon its quality that a man of so broadly enlightened judgment as President Eliot should deem Warren's presentation of it worthy to be placed side by side with the best things of the Confucian, Hebrew, Christian, Hindu, and Mohammedan sacred writings, as rendered, for example, by Sir Edwin Arnold or by the authors of the Revised Version of the Bible.

The usefulness of Warren's *Buddhism* is incalculably enhanced by the inclusion of nearly half of it in *The Harvard Classics*. Could he have lived to see his life-work become so useful to others, — that would have been for him the reward beyond compare.

Mr. Warren lived but little more than two and a half years after the appearance of his book, but even that short time sufficed to bring him many and cheering words of assurance as to the high scholarly quality of his achievement. It was a genuine and legitimate satis-

¹ In 1909, Charles William Eliot, after forty years of service as President of Harvard University, laid down that office. He had said in public that a five-foot shelf would hold books enough to give a good substitute for a liberal education to any persistent reader who had been denied that privilege in his youth. The New York firm of P. F. Collier and Son proposed that he should choose the works for such a shelf. The outcome was the collection of fifty volumes, all in English, entitled *The Harvard Classics*, issued in 1910. This collection aims to reach the masses and to be of service to them. But apart from these higher aims, it is published as a commercial enterprise. This means that its sale is vigorously promoted in all legitimate ways by a powerful house of high standing. Already (in 1918) about two hundred thousand sets of fifty volumes each have been sold, that is about one set for every hundred families in our country. New copies are being made at the rate of about two thousand sets each month; and the volume of sales has not decreased because of the war.

Quantity and quality are sometimes in inverse ratio — as witness what John Morley says of the poems of Thomas Gray. But it is perhaps worth telling, in a foot-note addressed to the little world of Harvard men, that, of that little world, Emerson, Richard Henry Dana, and Warren with his exposition of the greatest religion of the Orient, have contributed most to this collection.

Warren's work is found in volume 45 (pages 587 to 798), the second of the two volumes bearing the sub-title *Sacred Writings*.

faction to him to read some of these judgments¹ passed on his work by eminent Orientalists—of England, France, the Netherlands, Japan, India, and Ceylon—welcoming him, as it were, to a well-earned place in their ranks. One of the most pleasing features of his later years was his intercourse with the Venerable Subhūti, a Buddhist Elder, of Waskaduwa, Ceylon. This distinguished monk,² whose great learning and modesty and kindness had endeared him years before to Childers and Fausböll and Rhys Davids, was no less ready with words of encouragement for Mr. Warren, and with deeds of substantial service, especially the procuring of much-needed copies of the manuscripts. In 1893, His Majesty, Chulalonkorn, King of Siam, reached the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne. He celebrated the event by publishing in thirty-nine volumes a memorial edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka, the Sacred Scriptures of his religion. (A most commendable way of celebrating! Occidental sovereigns have sometimes preferred sky-rockets.) Copies were sent, exclusively as gifts, to the principal libraries of Europe and America, the Harvard Library among them. Mr. Warren had sent

¹ Notable among them is the review published in the Dutch magazine, *Museum, Maandblad voor philologie en geschiedenis* (Groningen, October, 1898), by Jacob Samuel Speyer, the most distinguished pupil of the greatest Dutch Indianist, Kern. Ten years later, Speyer, who had become Kern's successor at the University of Leyden, published in *De Gids* (Amsterdam, 1908, part 4, pages 141 to 147) an elaborate article upon the Harvard Oriental Series in general, and in particular upon Warren and his work as scholar and as man, under the title "Een Amerikaansche Maecenas."

Here (in spite of its mention of the Editor) should be reprinted a minute officially transmitted in 1908 to the President and Fellows of Harvard College. The Thomsen here subscribing as President, is the well-known writer on the languages of Scandinavia and Asia, Professor Vilhelm Thomsen of the University of Copenhagen. In 1908, Pischel was Professor of Sanskrit at Berlin.

COPENHAGEN, August 20, 1908.

The Fifteenth International Congress of Orientalists desires to put on record the expression of its cordial thanks for the great services to Oriental Science which have been rendered by the co-operation of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, of Professor Lanman as Editor of the Harvard Oriental Series, and of Professor Bloomfield as Author of the monumental *Vedic Concordance*.

At the same time the Congress would not leave unmentioned the debt of gratitude which this branch of learning owes to the far-sighted and enlightened liberality of the late Henry Clarke Warren, believing that his purposes, now becoming, through the faithful devotion of his friend, Professor Lanman, a reality as embodied in the volumes of the Harvard Oriental Series, are destined to contribute very substantially to our knowledge of the religions and literatures of the East.

PISCHEL, *President of the Indian Section.*

VILH. THOMSEN, *President of the Congress.*

SARAUW, *General Secretary of the Congress.*

² He was Chief High Priest of the Amara-pura Buddhists. He was born in May, 1835, and died in April, 1917, full of years, beloved and honored.

to His Majesty a magnificently bound set of the Harvard Oriental Series; and it was matter of honest pride and pleasure to him to receive from the king in return a beautiful copy of this Tripitaka. For us who remain, it is a satisfaction to know that Mr. Warren used the royal gift with diligence and success.

Thus the life of Henry Warren as a scholar is — we may justly say — memorable in the annals of American learning. And now a word touching the significance of his life as one of the joint-founders of the Harvard Oriental Series.

Since the other joint-founder, the Editor, is also the present writer, it is not competent for him to pass upon the Series as a fact; but it is permissible for him to explain the purpose of the Series. That purpose, as conceived by the Editor, twenty-odd years ago, is set forth in a circular letter written by him at that time. From it, a brief citation:

The diffusion of knowledge by the modern University is effected partly by oral teaching to the students within its walls and in part by publication. This latter function is a highly important one, and is no less legitimate than the former. Among the works published, however, there may be many which would never be issued by an ordinary publishing house, simply because there is little or no money to be made out of them. Of this kind are the works issued by the great learned Academies of Europe. Harvard University already has several publication-endowments: one for history, one for classics, one for political economy. It cannot be argued against them that a book which the public at large does not buy is not worth publishing. All Universities give the student his education at less than cost, the difference being met by endowments or public taxation.

The central point of interest in the history of India is the long development of the religious thought and life of the Hindus, — a race akin, by ties of blood and language, to the Anglo-Saxon stock. The value of the study of non-Christian religions is coming to be recognized by the best friends of Christianity more and more every day. The study tends to broaden and strengthen and universalize the bases of religion, — a result of practical and immediate benefit. Works which promote this study stand first in the plans of the Oriental Series; and they are especially timely now, when so much of the widespread interest in Buddhism and other Oriental systems is misdirected by half-knowledge, or by downright error concerning them. We may add that such works supply the material for the helpful constructive criticism of the foundations of religious belief, to offset the all too abounding destructive criticism of the day.

But meantime, the study of the Orient has come to present itself in new aspects. At this terrible crisis, the relations between the East and the West are of vital import as determining factors for the future. Henceforth, across the Pacific, there will inevitably be an interchange of potent influences, of influences that will affect profoundly the politics, the religion and morals, the philosophy, the literature, the art, — in short, all the elements that make up the civilization of the

two hemispheres. The West and the Far East have become virtually near neighbors, and from the responsibilities of such neighborhood there is no escape. Whether we will or no, we must have to do, and much to do, with the East.

The world-war of today is a terrible warning for tomorrow. This supremest of human follies is in the last analysis a failure—as between two peoples—to understand each other and so to trust each other. For us all, as members of the world-family, no obligation is more urgent than that of mutual understanding. For upon this depends the mutual good-will that annuls suspicion and “casteth out fear,” the good-will that Buddha insistently preached two millenniums and more ago, the good-will which even now we find it harder to practise than to invent air-ships and wireless telephones, the good-will weighed against which any or all of these inventions, as essentials for human happiness, are to be “counted as the small dust of the balance.” Accordingly we, East and West, must know each other. To interpret the East to the West, to set forth to the West some of the principal phases of the spiritual life of the East as they are reflected in her ancient literature, especially that of India, China, and Japan, to bring the best and noblest achievements of the East to bear upon our own life,—such are the inspiring tasks of the Orientalist, tasks in vital relation with the practical and political needs of today.

The volumes of this Series are largely technical, closed books to all but Orientalists. A dozen or more are of interest to general readers; but on the whole, these books, if published in the way of commercial enterprise, would be foredoomed to failure. They bring to the University neither money nor popular applause. Is she justified in issuing them? We might ask the like with reference to some exceedingly abstruse treatise on chemistry or electricity. Maybe only a score of men in all the world ever study it. And yet that study turns out to be of incalculable value to the directing minds of some vast industrial establishment, and through them to the people at large. One set of men produce such treatises. Another set of men transmute them into what are called practical values.

December 27, 1888, a letter to Mr. Warren was written by me, on the Mediterranean on my way to India, to be posted at Port Said. It concerned the endowment of a publication-fund for a series of “Sanskrit Texts for the use of Students,” and was written after much encouraging conference with Böhrling of the Russian Academy, and with several University Professors, — Roth of Tübingen, Kern of Ley-

